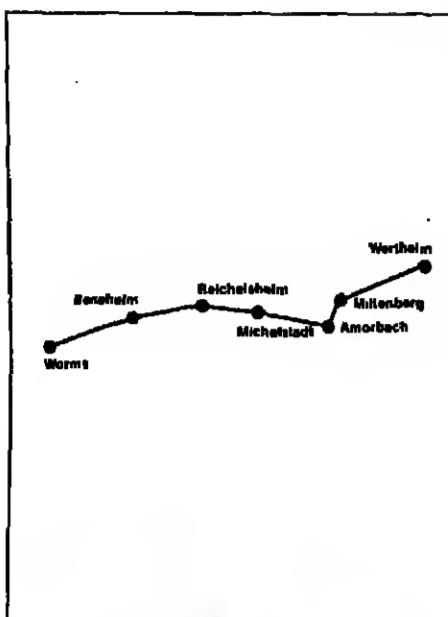


# Routes to tour in Germany



## The Nibelungen Route

German roads will get you there — to the Odenwald woods, for instance, where events in the Nibelungen saga, the medieval German heroic epic, are said to have taken place. Sagas may have little basis in reality, but these woods about 30 miles south of Frankfurt could well have witnessed gaiety and tragedy in days gone by. In Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, people lived 5,000 years ago. From the 5th century AD the kings of Burgundy held court there, going hunting in the Odenwald.

With a little imagination you can feel yourself taken back into the past and its tales and exploits. Drive from Wertheim on the Main via Miltenberg and Amorbach to Michelstadt, with its 15th century half-timbered *Rathaus*. Cross the Rhine after Bensheim and take a look at the 11th to 12th century Romanesque basilica in Worms.

Visit Germany and let the Nibelungen Route be your guide.



- 1 The Hagen Monument in Worms
- 2 Miltenberg
- 3 Odenwald
- 4 Michelstadt
- 5 Wertheim

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# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 13 November 1988  
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1347 - By air

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## Rising hopes of change in a milder Europe

### DER TAGESPIEGEL

Western fears that Chancellor Kohl and his men might be led astray by Soviet sirens in Moscow seem slowly to have been assuaged.

Yet they demonstrate how deep-seated fears still are in a number of Western European countries that the Federal Republic might be tempted by all-German advances to set foot on the slippery terrain of neutralisation.

The note the Soviet leader sounded on the German Question in particular was far too coarse and blustery to give rise to any illusions on Bonn's part.

Self-appointed custodians of German foreign policy can fairly be reminded that the Germans, whose country is divided by the East-West border, have a special interest in peace in Europe.

They are equally interested in being on good terms with all neighbouring countries and in the success of Mr Gorbachov's reform policy, the report says.

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The next edition of  
THE GERMAN TRIBUNE  
will appear on 27 November

cussions of which are already making themselves felt in changes for the better in the European East Bloc.

Mr Whitehead, the assistant US Secretary of State, returned from a fact-finding tour of six Eastern European countries greatly impressed by this trend.

If Germany were to go it alone as feared, it could easily be prevented from doing so by the intensification of European institutions, which is still being delayed by certain European Community member-countries with outmoded 19th-century ideas on sovereignty.

Moscow has even met Europe halfway by proposing an asymmetrical reduction in conventional forces, bearing in mind the current imbalance in Europe.

That sounds tempting and could help to solve Nato's problems if only the Soviet Union were genuinely willing to take the existing balance of power into account.

It has yet to do so, as 15 years of

lived until President Reagan hands over to his successor in the White House.

The US-Soviet INF Treaty scrapping medium-range missiles has established the framework for a change in political atmosphere, and seeds of hope are beginning to grow in Europe in this milder climate.

Sad to say, the proposed Start Treaty halving strategic arsenals, or intercontinental missiles, was not finalised in time for the US Presidential elections.

The Soviet Union, which had long balked at on-the-spot inspections, has lately demonstrated surprising flexibility on this issue, but the remaining problems connected with assessing different weapon systems proved too difficult for treaty terms to be swiftly agreed.

During the election campaign President Reagan and a Start Treaty should be possible "within the next few years."

The outlook for the Strategic Defence Initiative, of which the Soviet Union took a dim view, has taken a turn for the worse.

*Love-headed experts analysis seems to have shown that the cost would be out of all proportion to the benefit and that any such system (on which work continues) could at best provide protection from attacks by minor nuclear powers.*

The possibility of such attacks being launched can no longer be dismissed, especially when the keen interest shown by terrorist-oriented Third World heads of state to come by the Bomb is compared with their moral inferiority.

Against this background the talks on an international ban on chemical weapons have gained in urgency.

Since the Iraqis breached international law and used chemical weapons, probably aided and abetted by German firms, against Iranian troops and Kurdish women and children, their dreadful success has evidently decided other dubious regimes to start manufacturing chemical weapons.

They are fairly easy to manufacture, using chemicals that form the basis of pesticides. It is up to Washington and Moscow to set aside their differences on this point and put paid to the proliferation of chemical weapons.

Soviet disarmament proposals are currently concentrated on Western Europe. Mr Gorbachov, who advocates a world free from nuclear weapons, pays due consideration in the West's problems.

Given the East Bloc's superiority in conventional arms the defence of Western Europe — or even a credible deterrent — is still inconceivable without a limited stockpile of nuclear weapons.

Moscow has even met Europe halfway by proposing an asymmetrical reduction in conventional forces, bearing in mind the current imbalance in Europe.

The scrapping of medium-range missiles in Europe was not, when all is said and done, the result of unilateral decision by Nato to dispense with missile modernisation.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 30 October 1988)



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) takes time off with German language students at the opening of the Goethe Institute in Beijing. (Photo: AP)

## Genscher signs deal in China

Nordwest  
Zeitung NWZ

Germany and China have formalised an arrangement to meet regularly. An agreement between the Bonn Foreign Office and the Beijing Ministry of External Affairs has been signed in Bonn by Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Qian Qichen.

The agreement lends a new quality to bilateral relations. But it should not be overrated; in its immediate effect it does no more than spell out what is already happening.

It reflects the intensified exchange of views between Bonn and Beijing, a dialogue that has been encouraged by the steady improvement in relations between Washington and Beijing.

That is why the political and economic agreements "reached" during Herr Genscher's visit to China rallied with the policy pursued by the United States which, like Bonn and the European Community, has welcomed the process of rapprochement between Beijing and Moscow.

It must be recalled that the United States made the resumption of talks Mr Gorbachov's Soviet Union subject to the dialogue not being limited to disar-

ment.

It was to include regional conflicts,

such as Cambodia, which keenly interests China. In the wake of the Moscow

Continued on page 2

## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Room for a little Czech prestavba but hardly for demokratisazia

A small handbill calling for a peaceful demonstration in the centre of Prague on Independence Day, 28 October, was pasted on walls all over the Czech capital.

But only for a day. That night the stickers were all removed by the authorities.

The stickers featured the Bohemian lion, the Czech heraldic animal, in chains but with one link broken, and, in large letters, the word "Now!"

The demonstration was called for by the Czech Independence Initiative, a group of five Opposition movements, and although the stickers were only in place for a few hours thousands of people were aware of the time and place and turned up for the demonstration.

The live groups were the Charter '77 civil rights campaigners and the Children of Bohemia, young people who organised the 21 August demonstration on which over 10,000 people recalled Dubcek's "socialism with a human face."

Then there were the Democratic Initiative, which supports the ideals proclaimed by the founding father of free Czechoslovakia, President Masaryk, in 1918, an Independent Pacifist Association and the Club of Friends of the United States.

They planned to recall Czech independence with pride and longing, and to look critically at conditions in Czechoslovakia today, 20 years after the Prague Spring.

But the Opposition's application to hold a demonstration was rejected and Interior Minister Kyncl banned all assemblies in the centre of Prague.

All except one, an official demonstration in which the Communist Party had arranged for 200,000 people from Prague and environs to take part on the eve of Independence Day.

To forestall the Opposition the Party had declared 28 October, the anniversary of Czech independence 70 years ago, a national holiday. (It had abolished it in the early 1950s as a "bourgeois anniversary.")

A wreath was laid for the first time at the grave of President Masaryk, the first democratic head of state, who had previously been accused of betraying prog-

Continued from page 1

summit which testified to a pragmatic and constructive approach by the Kremlin, agreements between Peking and Moscow now seem feasible.

In starting to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan the Soviet Union has fulfilled one of the three conditions Peking laid down.

If Moscow thinned out its troops on the Sino-Soviet border and persuaded Vietnam to withdraw its forces entirely from Cambodia, there would be no obstacle to better relations between the two.

The West has every reason to take a positive view of this. Peace in South-East Asia can only consolidate economic development and help to ensure peace in general.

Greater stability in South-East Asia will lay a better groundwork for closer economic ties, in which the West wants.

Herr Genscher spoke on the West's behalf in the Chinese capital. He succeeded in his mission.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 1 November 1988)

## DIE ZEIT

ress. The new Party leader, Milos Jakes, who took over from ageing orthodox comrade-in-arms Gustav Husak last December, had the square where the demonstration was held adorned with the slogan *prestavba*, the Czech word for *restructuring*.

But his *prestavba* has nothing in common with the radical reconstruction advocated by Mr Gorbatchov.

Czech-style *prestavba* consists of limited economic reforms, greater efficiency in agriculture and industry and marginally more incentives and case-mates for private enterprise, a small and narrowly defined sector.

What it certainly isn't intended to include is a dialogue with the Opposition. There would be no such dialogue as long as he led the Czech Communist Party, Mr Jakes said.

He, incidentally, was in charge of

"normalisation," as the post-Prague Spring purge was known, in his capacity as chairman of the Party's central revision and control commission.

The banners proclaiming *prestavba* as the "new road for society" on revolution day were still in place the next day when several thousand demonstrators, mostly young people, met at the statue of St Wenceslaus, the Czechs' patron saint.

They had succeeded in slipping through the police cordon. Others — no-one knows how many — failed to do so.

The demonstrators sang the national anthem and white-helmeted police units with truncheons raised goose-stepped into position to the stirring melody, advancing toward the assembled demonstrators in slow motion, as it were.

It was a depressing sight, a bullet performed by goose-stepping robots.

The demonstrators chanted "Freedom! Freedom!" Hands were clapped to accompany calls for Masaryk and Dubcek.

They were followed by chants of "Ge-

stapol Gestapo!" as the police moved in, surely the worst term of abuse that could possibly be levelled at the police in a country that suffered so appallingly at the hands of the Nazis.

The police turned water cannons and guard dogs on the demonstrators. Official sources said 87 demonstrators were arrested, 120 well-known critics of the regime having been taken into custody the day before.

Nearly all have since been released, but they face heavy sentences if convicted on charges of "undermining the Republic."

This is the old policy of ongoing "normalisation" pursued by new, old men in

despite the most far-reaching leadership reshuffle in 20 years (nearly the entire government was replaced a few weeks ago) there are no signs of a change of course in domestic policy.

There may be a little *prestavba*, but no *demokratisazia*, let alone *glasnost*.

For that would mean the dogmatic Czech Communists who rallied on Mr Brezhnev's Soviet Union for assistance now having to call on Mr Gorbatchov to back political reforms.

They would be obliged to acknowledge and accept the intellectual affinity of Alexander Dubcek and Mikhail Gorbachev — and then to step down.

Joachim Jauer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 4 November 1988)

## A touch of sophistry in Polish Premier's Thatcher argument

### Hannoversche Allgemeine

merely among Social Democrats. Many feel that her policies give the weaker sections of society a raw deal.

This viewpoint is the basis of the Labour Party's manifesto and ought, in a democracy, to be a matter of course.

Yet for the Polish Communist leaders it is a world apart. They are enthusiastic advocates of a style of capitalism not even Mrs Thatcher wants anything to do with.

These enmities between the two leading men in Warsaw are characteristic of the Polish regime and of many latter-day communist leaders. They are an unpleasant combination of ignorance, cynicism and presumption.

Trade unions' rights are no more called into question in Britain than in other democratically governed countries.

Mr Rakowski in particular, who frequently visits the West and has talked with Social Democrats for years, must know that the TUC is not dependent on the Labour Party. If anything, it is the other way round.

Members of the present-day communist elite may no longer be Mafiosi, but they are still a far cry from anything that might be termed political culture. They blindly imitate what they take to be Western, preferably American, efficiency while failing in no way to baffle their fellow-citizens.

A move that typifies this approach is the blunt way in which the closure of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk was ordered.

The government said its closure was necessary because it was uneconomic and blandly referred to what it claimed were similar measures in the West.

What makes the comments by General Jaruzelski and Mr Rakowski so scandalous is not, however, that the Polish leaders choose to ignore or to disregard essential facts.

It is that they, who still refer to Karl Marx in justification of their power, show not the slightest sign of social sensitivity.

Mrs Thatcher's ideas are not wholly endorsed in democratic debate, and not

can be said to run at a profit. The Gdansk shipyard has been plunged into the red by politicians, and it is now to be shut down on political grounds — as a stronghold of the Opposition.

The 11,000 people who work at the shipyard are merely figures on a chessboard. Officially they are the owners of the shipyard where they work, but no-one in Warsaw saw fit to consult them on the subject.

Even the officially recognised trade union, whose leader is a member of the politburo, felt obliged to protest, arguably on grounds of vestigial self-respect.

Messrs Jaruzelski and Rakowski have made it clear in what atmosphere the round-table talks with the Opposition will be held, always assuming they take place.

The regime has no intention of relinquishing its monopoly of power and taking others seriously as partners in power.

Yet the representatives of majority opinion in Poland must seek to conduct a "soft" debate. They have no choice.

Claus Preller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 November 1988)

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## HOME AFFAIRS

## Running a democracy and avoiding the pitfalls

in later years equally unwavering in his loyalty to the Chancellor.

Sometimes he consulted the occasional banker friend, but he had no personal advisers, no "Kitchen Cabinet."

He visited the CDU head office once a year, for the Christmas party. Long term, that did not do him any good.

Wahl is more subtle. He has gathered political advisers well-versed on many issues and unquestionably loyal. He keeps both ministers and parliamentary parties on their toes by constantly setting deadlines.

Handling the Cabinet grew more difficult. The party was less willing to be manipulated, especially after the crisis triggered by his sudden announcement, in 1959, that he planned to stand for head of state, followed by the decision not to.

He even had trouble handling the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bundestag, in which the *Land*, or Federal states, were represented.

The Bundesrat referred his plan to set up what would have amounted to a TV network run by the Federal government to the constitutional court, which ruled it unconstitutional in 1961.

The President, Heinrich Lübke, regarded as an unspectacular person, made full use of his constitutional powers to express views of his own.

Christian Democratic leaders grew dissatisfied. It is not unrealistic to surmise that Adenauer's personal, autocratic style eventually led to other centres of opinion and leadership in German democracy laying claim to their and his powers.

Adenauer floundered when the parliamentary party realised he was not the vote-winner he once had been. Political parties can be ruthless.

Ludwig Erhard, his successor, sought in contrast to rule by consent. He saw himself as a *Volkskanzler*, or People's Chancellor.

But he neglected the party, quickly lost authority and was forced by its leaders in resign.

The 1966-69 Grand Coalition led by CDU Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, which had five times jointly held symposia, hosted a discussion. Historians and political scientists outlined their views. So did experienced politicians past and present, particularly Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger.

Much mention was, inevitably, made of Adenauer's *Kanzlerdemokratie*. Was it really dependent on the individual or the institution (the Chancellor's constitutional responsibility for laying down the guidelines of government policy)?

Konrad Adenauer was adept at imposing his will on the party, the parliamentary party and the various coalitions he headed.

His skill at keeping members of his Cabinet after the sometimes difficult by-elections, at playing conflicting forces off against each other, at resorting to intrigue and at having no qualms about how election campaigns were run was mentioned by one speaker after another.

He made short shrift of his mistakes and made light of his defeats by means of irony. He was an autocrat, a scion, admired, envied, feared and hated.

Yet despite this skill at dividing and ruling was, in some cases, a pitfall to his personal influence on decisions reached by democratic institutions.

He left the day-to-day management of the Chancellor's Office to his outstanding state secretary, Hans Globke, whose absolute personal loyalty he could be sure of.

He left contacts with the parliamentary party to Heinrich Krone, who was

bers who belong to a coalition party is a minister or parliamentary state secretary.

For years the leaders of the parliamentary parties have also taken part in important Cabinet meetings. The division of powers principle is thus diluted.

The Bundestag takes its legislative and control functions very seriously, especially in committees and commissions of inquiry.

Some say the Bundestag at times oversteps the mark. The finance committee has on occasion laid claim to rights to which it is not entitled on some issues.

The number and extent of parliamentary questions has also increased so much that the control function of Question Time has tended to be devolved — such as when detailed queries are used to hamper the machinery of government and hinders the questioner.

Questions aimed at being informed more promptly about developments and government plans similarly make one wonder where the limits to competence and the distribution of power lie.

As for the media, Professor Oberreiter, host to the Passau conference, frequently noted that television, unlike radio or the print media, has to abbreviate and personalise complex situations and events to an extreme degree.

Television, because it is visual, is bound to stress names in the headlines at receptions, on tour, at conferences, in glamorous surroundings and shaking hands with the high and mighty.

The emphasis is not on the backroom in parliament. Politics as seen on TV is inevitably superficial and fleeting.

That is far cry from the complex reality, which calls for more and more detailed knowledge, rational thought and competence in arriving at decisions.

This is a contradiction which could rebound and transform politics into a single performance, an art of self-pride and marketing.

The result could be a trend toward plebiscitary democracy over and above parliamentary institutions. President Reagan is a past master of the art; so was General de Gaulle. So, to some extent, continued on page 4

Eduard Ackermann, Chancellor Kohl's aide, has been called "Germany's most expensive lightning conductor." The implication is that he bears the brunt of the Chancellor's ire.

Dr Ackermann, 60, has also been dubbed "the Chancellor's sweeper" (in the soccer sense of the term) and "Kohl's early warning system." He is all that and much more.

Helmut Kohl's closest adviser was 60 on 1 November and, to mark the occasion, a reception for about 300 people was held in the Palais Schirnburg, the former Chancellor's Office. Dr Ackermann is the epitome of a professional politician. He wrote articles for a political magazine back in 1953 when he was still a student at Bonn University. He was appointed spokesman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in Bonn in March 1958 by Heinrich Krone, then CDU/CSU leader. In the Bundestag, in this capacity he interpreted Christian Democratic policy

for 25 years under CDU leaders Heinrich von Brentano, Rainer Barzel, Karl Carstens and Helmut Kohl.

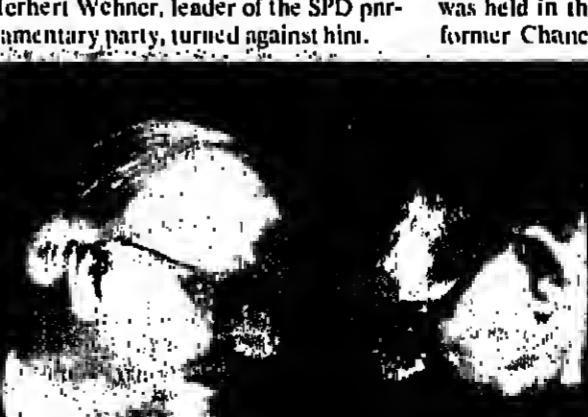
When Herr Kohl finally succeeded in regaining power in October 1982, "Ede" Ackermann was a self-evident choice to take with him to the Chancellor's Office.

He has since been in charge of communication and documentation at the Chancellor's Office, but has never lost contact with the press, yet oddly enough never been at loggerheads with chief government spokesmen.

When reports from Bonn refer to an aide of the Chancellor they usually mean him. He is popular and highly respected contact for journalists by virtue of his fund of political experience and "proximity to power."

He has always been a loyal interpreter of government policies — and absolutely honest and straightforward.

Yet he shuns the limelight in Bonn. The place he prefers is behind the scenes or in the prompter's box. *Detlef Rudel* (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 November 1988)



The limits to sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany have come under stronger scrutiny since the plane crash at Ramstein US Air Force base; in connection with low-altitude flying by Allied air forces; and because of activities on German soil by an American anti-terrorist unit.

The Bonn government has repeatedly been called on to use its sovereign rights in dealings with the three Western powers or to renegotiate the relevant treaties and agreements so it can be master in its own house at last.

Chancellor Kohl has consistently warned against any attempt to renegotiate, and he is not alone. So did his Social Democratic predecessor, Helmut Schmidt.

Just what is the situation? Berlin international lawyer Dieter Schröder recently outlined the position in an article for the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*. He summarised it as being "confusing."

The Federal Republic's legal status was laid down in the so-called German Treaty of 1952, which came into force on 5 May 1955.

Professor Schröder goes on to point out that the Western powers call this agreement the Bonn Treaty, by which they emphasise that it "does not affect rights with regard to Germany as a whole but merely the position of the Federal Republic."

Article I of the Bonn Treaty, intended to note the end of the occupation status, specifies that the Federal Republic is to enjoy "the full power of a sovereign state over its domestic and external affairs."

Professor Schröder feels it would have been quite feasible to clearly and indisputably specify the legal status of full and unlimited sovereignty.

## ■ GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY

# Looking for some clarity in a confusing controversy

The reason this was not done was the limitation, mentioned in the treaty, that "in view of the international situation, which has hitherto prevented the reunification of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty, the three Western powers reserved the rights and responsibilities previously exercised or held with regard to Berlin and to Germany as a whole."

Disputes arising from the application of the treaty are to be referred to a mediation tribunal consisting of three German and three Western Allied representatives, but fundamental issues and the stationing of troops in Germany are not subject to its arbitration.

The rights of forces "stationed in the Federal Republic" are to be laid down in a forces treaty. In 1963 this treaty was replaced by an annex to the Nato forces statutes.

It specifies, for instance, that German law must, in principle, be observed in respect of exercises in German air space — and agreement reached with the German authorities.

Professor Schröder feels that despite the strictly limited opportunities of revoking the treaty respect for the Federal Republic's sovereignty follows from this provision.

He then notes that the Bonn Treaty deals with the stationing of forces "in Germany," which in his view is an entirely "different quality" from troops

stationed "in the Federal Republic." The treaty does not affect the Allies' rights to station troops "in Germany" because they are required to exercise Allied rights and responsibilities in Germany.

The Federal Republic expressly declared itself to approve of these stationing rights, details of which were laid down in a 1954 treaty which came into force 12 hours after the Bonn Treaty.

They were to apply until such time as a peace treaty or other, comparable agreement came into force and could thus not be revoked by the Federal Republic.

Unlike the Bonn Treaty, the 1954 treaty regulating the presence of Allied troops gives rise to doubts as to the Federal Republic's sovereignty, Professor Schröder says:

"The complicated construction involving geographically differentiated stationing rights serves the purpose of reconciling the legal status of the Federal Republic, in principle one of sovereignty, and the overriding authority enjoyed by the Allies since 1945 in respect of stationing troops in Germany."

The Federal Republic, he feels, must make the position clear. He points out

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Continued from page 3

ent, were Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

The other side of the coin is the increasing perfection of the judiciary, especially the constitutional, administrative and financial courts.

Last but not least, the European Community is making constant inroads on the national sovereignty of member-governments.

Can the Federal Republic still be led and governed, or is coordination the best that can be expected? Sceptics say

the room for decision is steadily declining and compounding toward zero.

Others say that even in less favourable circumstances than exist today the government and parliament of the Federal Republic have assumed and exercised amazing decision-making powers.

Even complexities can come to be regarded as 'normal' and be 'led' or governed, always assuming there are enough people with the skill to do so.

Hans Heigert (Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 22 October 1988)

## AUSSEN POLITIK

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## ■ PERSPECTIVE

# 50 years since the mob's Kristallnacht rampage

Fifty years ago the Nazi Press celebrated the *Reichskristallnacht* as a spontaneous expression of "popular anger" and collective retaliation against German Jews for a crime by a Jew.

It was the murder of Ernst Eduard vom Rath, an official at the German embassy in Paris, by Herschel Grünspan, a desperate young man threatened with deportation who had been forced to go underground.

Those domestic and foreign observers who did not believe the Nazi propaganda saw the *Kristallnacht* as the organised vandalism and barbarity carried out under orders.

Mobs set fire to synagogues as the police and fire brigade stood by not to fight the fires but to stop them from spreading to "Aryan" property.

Jewish cemeteries, department stores, workshops and homes were wrecked and looted, nearly 100 Jews were killed, dozens driven to suicide and thousands arrested and sent to concentration camps.

The streets were ruled by mobs," wrote the Berlin correspondent of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on 11 November 1938, "that marched howling and bawling from one shop to the next destroying the entire stock and what was left after the shop windows and fittings had been broken and sacked the night before.

"Not one of over 1,000 Jewish shops in a city of four million people has not been transformed into a heap of ruins.

"In a radio shop you could see men wielding clubs smashing expensive radios while other groups wielded pokers, crowbars and curtain rails."

The basis of the Jewish bourgeoisie was greatly reduced. "Many were impoverished," Barkay says, "and forced to live on public assistance."

Violent excesses occurred in individual towns and cities. There were pogrom-style riots. Anti-Semitic slogans were daubed on shop windows. Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camp.

In Munich and Nuremberg synagogues were wrecked and demolished.

Josef Goebbels, Propaganda Minister and Gauleiter of Berlin, made firebrand anti-Semitic speeches.

It had previously found repeated expression in many excesses triggered and backed by local authorities. This local escape valve was now replaced by a more systematic approach, increasingly controlled and centralised by the SS.

During the war this new approach was to culminate in the bureaucratic, industrialised annihilation policy of the "final solution" to the Jewish Question.

The November 1938 pogrom was seen by the victims as a milestone. The Reich representation of the Jews referred in its 1939 report to a "historic turning-point."

Those who had hoped times might improve and constitutional rights be restored now knew better. Jews no longer enjoyed a right of abode or even a place to live in Nazi Germany.

Those who could leave in 1938/39 there was an exodus of about 120,000 men, women and children, most of them penniless as a result of alienancy by the authorities. This figure was nearly

out of three had either gone out of business or changed hands. The later they were sold, the less they realised for the hapless owners. Some were intimidated, others openly threatened or blackmailed. Jewish company-owners were forced to sell for a song. The unscrupulous eagerness for plunder that was characteristic of the period is impressively documented in a letter written by a Munich businessman resigning as a court-appointed assessor. Even though he was, as he put it, a National Socialist, an SA man and an admirer of Adolf Hitler, he refused to serve any longer as a court-appointed assessor in Aryanisation cases. As an honest businessman of the old school he could no longer bear the bare-faced way in which many "Aryan" businessmen tried to snap up Jewish shops and other businesses at give-away prices.

"To my mind they behave like vultures," he wrote, "with eyes dripping and tongues drooling as they pounce on the Jewish carcass."

The prostration of German Jews was well under way long before the 1938 wave of Aryanisation.

At a time when German businessmen were complaining that labour was in short supply, Jewish unemployment was appallingly high.

Passports were withdrawn and replaced by documents sporting a "J" for Jew. From 1939 all German Jews were legally required to adopt the additional first name Israel or Sura.

In order to quicken legislation by pressure "from below" and to dispel misgivings of Ministry officials used to "legal" processes, expressions of what the Nazis called "popular anger" began in summer 1938.

Violent excesses occurred in individual towns and cities. There were pogrom-style riots. Anti-Semitic slogans were daubed on shop windows. Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camp.

In Munich and Nuremberg synagogues were wrecked and demolished.

Josef Goebbels, Propaganda Minister and Gauleiter of Berlin, made firebrand anti-Semitic speeches.

It had previously found repeated expression in many excesses triggered and backed by local authorities. This local escape valve was now replaced by a more systematic approach, increasingly controlled and centralised by the SS.

During the war this new approach was to culminate in the bureaucratic, industrialised annihilation policy of the "final solution" to the Jewish Question.

The November 1938 pogrom was seen by the victims as a milestone. The Reich representation of the Jews referred in its 1939 report to a "historic turning-point."

Those who had hoped times might improve and constitutional rights be restored now knew better. Jews no longer enjoyed a right of abode or even a place to live in Nazi Germany.

Those who could leave in 1938/39 there was an exodus of about 120,000 men, women and children, most of them penniless as a result of alienancy by the authorities.

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The streets were ruled by howling mob... synagogue in Bamberg, Bavaria, is put to the torch. (Photo: Ullstein)

Semite, who may well have hoped to regain the Führer's favour.

Goebbels was in disfavour with Hitler on account of private affairs and wanted to boost his reputation by seizing the initiative.

Many ordinary Germans disapproved of the unbridled licence enjoyed by the Nazi thugs and saw no sense in their wanton destruction of property. There can be no doubt that anti-Semitic propaganda failed to trigger a general wave of support for the pogrom.

Yet there was no audible protest either. Readiness to help and gestures of sympathy with persecuted Jews were the exception, not the rule.

The majority preferred to exercise restraint on both their houses, the victims and the culprits, and after a brief interlude of shock it was back to business as usual.

The ordinances issued soon afterward, including the imposition of a RM1,000m "atonement" fine imposed on the Jews, seemed to meet with approval rather than rejection.

Even the Churches, as the last institutions that were more or less morally intact, had nothing to say on the subject.

It was as if "an invisible power," as Theophil Wurm, the Protestant bishop of Württemberg, recalled after the war, had forced people to keep their views to themselves.

Yet anti-Jewish prejudice was far from immutability, as a letter Bishop Wurm himself wrote to the Justice Minister on 6 December 1938 clearly indicates.

If he objected both to the form the pogrom had taken and to the inconvenience to which clergymen accused of being Jewish lackeys had been put.

With a man so committed to conservative Christian traditions of hostility toward the Jews it was bound to be difficult to delineate the rules of fair play and to lay down clear guidelines for Christians.

With laudable individual exceptions the Jews were given neither succour nor support; let alone active neighbourly love, by either Catholics or Protestants.

Jens Flemming (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 6 November 1988)

The labour movement is in decline, so it is being said. The giant trade unions are said to be dinosaurs which will not survive the turn of the century. The unions, so the argument goes, have remained labour organisations in the traditional sense and are failing to come to terms with the requirements of the times.

The fact is that white-collar workers have begun to overtake blue-collar workers numerically — but the trade unions are still numerically dominated by blue-collar workers.

There is no lack of suggestions on how to deal with the problem. Many of the suggestions are, however, inconsistent if well-intentioned.

The Premier of Baden-Württemberg, Lothar Späth, recommended at a meeting ICI Metall, the engineering union, that the shop floor become the centre of union operations rather than union branches.

Peter Glotz, a Social Democrat who used to be the party's business manager, suggested more of a political approach. Both recommendations have plausible arguments to support them.

People's enthusiasm for trade unions is rapidly declining. There are changes which are causing this.

In these days of individuals, people want their own rights upheld. These are not always the same as someone else's rights. Interests cannot always be negotiated on a collective basis.

Blanket wage agreements negotiated by trade unions satisfy only a minority. The better qualified people are, the more likely they are to insist on deciding for themselves.

Because Germany is a high-wage country which can only survive econ-

## ■ THE TRADE UNIONS

### Can they adjust to demands of the modern world?

umically using technologically advanced production methods, the trend for better-trained workers is likely to intensify.

Individual demands are on the increase. This only increases the difficulties of organisations which claim to be working for the welfare of all.

The division of interests threatens to fragment organisations representing workers' interests. It is popularly believed that dinosaurs perished from the disparity between the size of their bodies and brains, because they were not able to adjust.

This image obviously does not apply to the trade unions. Some of them have woken up to the danger that an alert mind could be let down by a weak and unimaginative body.

Not only at the ICI Metall conference in Frankfurt was the impression given that the engineering union's leadership was not one but many steps ahead of its membership. That is dangerous.

Technicians, scientists and managers, to whom the unions must make themselves look attractive, regard present recruitment campaigns with suspicion. Traditional shop-floor membership is crumbling as well.

Several unions agreed to long agreements — up to the beginning of the 1990s. Union negotiators at the time expected only a mild economic upswing.

And what has happened? Industry is doing well. Pessimistic forecasts were wrong. Exports are hitting record levels.

But unions who entered these long-term agreements — engineering workers, chemical workers, printing workers, public sector workers, are not getting anything extra.

It is almost amusing to recall the cries of horror from the employers' camp during wage negotiations in 1987, particularly in the engineering industry. It was said that irresponsible burdens were being placed on employers.

It was claimed that the engineering union, ICI Metall, was making excessive demands, and employers could not afford the agreement that was being negotiated.

The bitter complaints made by employers influenced at least some sections of the public.

The trade unions must feel that they have been taken for a ride. Many companies have shown enormous profits. There is general satisfaction on the nation's executive boards.

All forecasts which predicted a declining economic growth rate have been wrong. The outlook is good.

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tion — a development that employers and thinking conservatives do not want to see happen.

The newly-announced aim is, then, to create as much freedom for the individual as possible on the basis of collective agreements.

If the hoped for influx of technicians into the unions comes about, there will be an increase in the number of specialist employees whom the unions can call upon within the co-determination system, workers participating in management, for the unions cannot alone master their own future.

They are then determined that those who have profited from the benefits of wage agreements, without having any regard for the unions which represent their interests, should at least show some involvement for the collective interest.

If all sides find the necessary patience and flair, the trade unions certainly have a future.

Burkhard von Pappenheim  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 October 1988)

## Next round of pay talks will be tougher

lined to take it up. At the union's headquarters in Frankfurt the view was that the union did not want to be forced into such a debate.

The union's refusal also applied to Schlecht's query whether a "second helping" at factory level would not be possible — an unifying idea for the trade unions which place great importance on comprehensive wage bargaining.

Just like ICI Metall, IG Chemie, the chemicals industry union, has given assurances that the wage agreements negotiated will remain untouched. There is no question of thinking about requests for a revision of valid wage agreements.

This all sounds reasonable, unassuming and peaceable. But employers know only too well that things will not remain as they are. At the headquarters of the various unions preparations are slowly being made for the next round of wage negotiations.

Over the past few months prices have increased 1.3 per cent. The trade unions have negotiated for wage increases of between 1.4 and 2.5 per cent. In this there is only a small increase in purchasing power, and unions are also having to pay the price for having negotiated agreements with an average period of validity that are too long.

The bitter complaints made by employers influenced at least some sections of the public.

The trade unions must feel that they have been taken for a ride. Many companies have shown enormous profits. There is general satisfaction on the nation's executive boards.

All forecasts which predicted a declining economic growth rate have been wrong. The outlook is good.

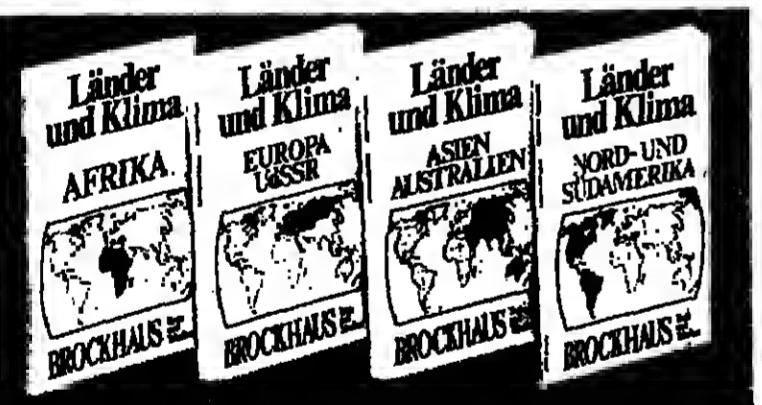
How would they stand if they should suddenly demand a revision? Would they not reveal that they lacked the necessary negotiating skills, after they themselves had spoken of wage negotiations as a consequence of tough bargaining?

How credible and reliable would they be regarded by employers in the future? Then could not employers, in a reverse situation, call for a revision of wage agreements downwards?

The unions do not want to get involved in renegotiation discussions.

When State Secretary Otto Schlecht from the Economic Affairs Ministry recently raised the subject, ICI Metall, the engineering union, immediately de-

## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

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## ■ FINANCE

### German bank loan intended to help the Russians fill their shop shelves

A German consortium headed by Deutsche Bank is to lend the Soviet Union three billion marks. The money will be used to buy German machinery and resources to improve the Russians' capacity to produce consumer goods. The deal was signed during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow. This story was written by Werner Adam. It appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

All this is designed to help, 70 years after the October Revolution, the 300 million people in the Soviet Union raise their standard of living to a level corresponding to the natural wealth of their country.

Gorbachov is not the first to observe the need for this: what makes him stand out is the sheer extent to which he is prepared to risk ideological stances.

Instead, they are reflected rather in the many accords and statements of intent which were signed during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow on the modernisation of the Soviet foodstuffs and consumer goods industries.

There is a demand here that can be seen everywhere in the shop queues and the disappointment on customers' faces when at last they have been able to fight their way to the counter.

Their patience is coming to an end. Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership wants the view that the situation has not become preentious and that it does not have to decide to introduce measures to stimulate imports of foodstuffs and consumer merchandise, about which there has been so much speculation in the Federal Republic.

Shop shelves full of goods are vital to achieve this. This opens up a much larger market than has been the case for German industry in Russia.

But at the same time he impressed on Chancellor Kohl that trade, that cooperation in technology and science,

## Romania began the East Bloc's joint-venture affair with West

Joint ventures have become an accepted method of doing business for firms from different economic systems. Both management and risks are shared.

Germany is a leader in this field in the West. And Bavarian firms are the most active joint venturers in the Soviet Union.

East Germany is the only East Bloc country that has no joint ventures.

The Polish foreign chamber of trade reports that joint venture firms, with the exception of in Hungary, are still small scale.

Up to the end of 1987 there were 166 joint venture companies within the Comecon countries.

The joint venture fever began in 1977, in Romania, although there the number of joint ventures has dropped from nine to five.

There are 38 of joint companies in the Soviet Union, 15 in Bulgaria, 13 in Poland and two in Czechoslovakia.

The Polish chamber says there are 416 Comecon companies participating in firms in the West.

There are 99 from Russia, 86 from Hungary and 80 from Poland. Then comes Bulgaria, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania.

Only 15 per cent of the Hungarian firms are involved in Western production companies. The others are mainly involved in trade and service companies.

Production should begin in 1989 and, in the first phase, 300,000 units should be produced.

The first part of an extensive cooperation contract for the transfer of know-how on advanced micro-electronics was signed with the Micro-Electronics Complex.

Statistics show that 92 per cent of these companies produce capital and consumer goods. Then 32 are involved in exports, 15 in consultancy, 14 in trade, 11 in technical services, eight in the building industry and four in agricultural companies.

There is not going to be a renegotiation. Instead there will be more next time round.

Workers are still hungry. Employers in the engineering industry will rapidly find out when they take their places at the negotiating table in autumn of next year.

According to the Polish organisation, the Comecon countries are primarily interested in joint ventures for reasons of

Gorbachov enjoys in the West, this development goes a long way towards confirming the view that the Soviet Union is more and more dependent on this method of financing.

The drop in oil prices has reduced foreign currency earnings too much for the Soviet leadership to maintain any longer its proverbial reserve against taking up credits.

In addition budget estimates show that Soviet foreign trade will be reduced by at least two per cent in the coming year due to state finances that have been out of balance for a long time.

Therefore Moscow is primarily interested in setting up investment for joint ventures. It is true this kind of cooperation is the most complicated and is not too much favoured in the West, because the Russians take the view that these ventures should be export-oriented.

In his meeting with Chancellor Kohl Gorbachov showed an understanding of German reservations. His understanding was expressed not only in positive

reactions to Kohl's suggestion that Russian experts and managers should be trained over a long period in German companies.

It was also shown in what could be a more important aspect: in the statement of intent it was stated that an investment protection agreement should be signed during Gorbachov's visit to Bonn — scheduled to take place probably in May next year.

But expectations should not be too high here. It is certainly going to take longer for the implementation of internal Soviet reforms such as decentralisation of the economy and the creation of a pricing system.

It is like carrying coals to Newcastle to give advice of this sort to Federal Republic companies, experienced in trade with the Soviet Union.

They should be bold; they must be far-sighted — and patient, even in Moscow.

Werner Adam  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 29 October 1988

## Siemens signs a deal to make telephone exchanges in China

The beginning of this year and will last until 1990. The first plane is scheduled to come off the production line in 1994.

In another agreement MBB will work together with CATIC in the area of alternative energy. China is to be supplied with wind-energy converters valued at DM1.5m from the MBB wind energy programme. These will be supplied mainly from MBB's Monopetrol research project.

Step by step, wind energy components such as rotary blades and propulsor systems will be manufactured on a co-production basis.

The MBB division Energy and Process Technology was established four years ago along with production groups for bio-technology, energy and environmental protection systems.

Research and development will be undertaken at a plant in Ottobrunn near Munich and Hoyenkamp near Bremen.

dpa/VWD  
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 1 November 1988)

Marketing and advertising executives are worried about German consumers. Unpredictability makes it hard to plan.

The German male eats junk food for lunch but eats at nouvelle cuisine restaurants in the evening.

He wears old jeans one day and a new, tailor-made suit the next.

He saves pennies by being careful with day-to-day shopping — and buying at bargain-leasement discount stores — yet buys an expensive after-shave balm in the boutique next door.

He writes personal letters on recycled paper to save the tropical rain forest yet drives flat-out along the autobahn at 180kph (112mph) and thereby pollutes his own forests with exhaust gas.

The average female is no more predictable. Marketing and advertising people are not the only ones to worry.

Consumer association officials are equally unable to explain consumer behaviour. All that can be said for sure is that the German housewife is not what she was.

She used, let us say, to be plain Lieschen Müller, née Maier. In these days of emancipation she hustles on double-barrelled status. Nothing less than Elisabeth Müller-Müller will do.

She is both more and less demanding, disrespectful yet inconsistent, and arguably guided by the motto:

"I value my new impracticalities so highly that I am prepared to pay dearly for the privilege."

Gone are the days when consumers could be clearly differentiated in terms of social category, age and education.

The experts have come up with a new term that merely shows how confused they are. They now refer to the "multi-dimensional consumer."

## THE CONSUMER

### Causing confusion among marketing strategists

The keynote of the new consumer is that he is less likely to make his choice in accordance with the traditional either-or pattern; he is just as likely to go for both options.

What has brought about this change in consumer outlook? What might its repercussions be on politics, society and the economy?

The Consumer Institute Foundation, Berlin, has held courses on consumer affairs for teachers, consultants, politicians and journalists for 10 years.

Bankrolled by the Senate of Berlin and by the Federal Economic Affairs Ministry, Bonn, it also devises educational and curricular aids for consumer studies.

To mark its tenth anniversary it took a closer look at the "new era in the development of private consumption."

Hans-Jürgen Anders, a Nuremberg-based consumer research association, feels the term "new era" is justified in three respects.

Consumers have more money at their disposal than ever before. They are better educated than ever. They are also in the throes of a far-reaching change in values.

The critical outlook of the 1970s, a mentality characterised by the slogan of limits to growth, has faded in significance.

Even people who are critical of social conditions no longer have qualms about enjoying affluence to the full, arguably confirming left-wing views and right-wing consumer habits.

What is more, more life insurance policies than ever will come up for redemption in the years ahead, their annual redemption value virtually doubling to DM4.6bn by 1995.

This statistical average naturally pertains over the seamer side. Just as a growing number of people are living in a land of milk and honey, so a growing number are having to make ends meet on or below the brink of subsistence. They are the unemployed and social security claimants.

Consumer association offices are daily confronted with a dramatic increase in the number of Germans who are hopelessly deep in debt. Their plight is a warning that can easily go unnoticed in the consumer hue and cry.

Cash in hand is not the only reason why the average consumer has grown more self-assured. He (or, again, she) is much better educated and more experienced.

He is not buying his first car or TV set; the next may well be his fifth, for instance.

Since 1960 there has been an educational explosion at German schools from which female consumers in particular have benefited.

There are now nearly five million university graduates in the Federal Republic, and they are bound to have an effect on consumer behaviour.

Moss consumption is on the decline and increasing importance is attached to an individual approach. Quality, not quantity, is now in demand.

Over and above the immediate use to be derived from the product, consumers now expect to benefit in many other ways from what they buy.

Having forfeited ties with their family, their class and their religion they now put new consumer values in their place.

Otto Wnter Haseloff, a professor of psychology at the Free University in Berlin, has listed a number of impressive instances of this substitution.

Today's consumers no longer buy clothes with a view to looking just like everyone else (if not more so), aiming at

the aeme of uniformity; their aim is to arrive at a definition of themselves.

They invest in life-style rather than a fashion. They identify with the way they dress ("I like wearing black, I prefer one brand or the other").

This outlook is clearly shared by, say, the yuppies. Not for them the cheapest goods on the market; they buy the dearest in order to demonstrate to others that they can afford to do so.

Products establish new modes of communication. You need to be able to hold your own in conversation about personal computers, stereo equipment and cars.

To be able to do so generates a feeling of being a member of the group. In some tennis clubs, for instance, you are an outsider if you don't wear a certain brand — even if a tiny embroidered logo is all that distinguishes it from the rest.

Not the product as such but the point of sale can be what counts. You buy your perfume in a specific body shop, for example.

Last but not least, consumption is also equated with success, especially in the hobby and do-it-yourself sectors.

Yet despite all this interpretation, consumer behaviour remains contradictory in many respects.

Consumers are better informed than ever, have more money than ever, have a wider choice than ever — but do they exercise their right of choice responsibly?

Do they bear in mind, when spending money, the effect of what they buy on the environment? Do they stop to think whether it is socially responsible? Evidently not.

It is too superficial to blame industry for the growing pauperisation in parts of the Third World and for the pollution of

## RHEINISCHER MERKUR

water resources and the death of trees and forests yet to dismiss individual responsibility by way of consumer habits.

Entrepreneurial ethics may have much to answer for, but so does the level of standards in consumer ethics.

Consumers, like entrepreneurs, are frequently overtaxed in being expected to bear in mind the standards they feel to be right and important.

Professor Ursula Hansen of Hanover University has pointed out a number of shortcomings. Many consumers, for instance, are simply unaware of the harmful effects of a product, while others are unable to judge because the information at their disposal is contradictory.

How "dangerous" is it, when all is said and done, to buy canned drinks or to eat meat?

Conversely, harmful effects can scarcely be clearly assigned to a single product, as was apparent from the discussion whether vehicle emission was to blame for tree deaths.

And even when the effect of a product is a known factor, what sacrifices can consumers be expected to make in opting for an alternative?

Garden fences must be painted every three years if you use environmentally friendly paint — but only every six years if you use conventional paint.

Many consumers prefer the soft option in a situation such as this, arguing that nothing really does any good.

So talk of the "new consumer" is superficial. Consumers may be better informed than ever, but they aren't sufficiently informed. They have yet to learn how to handle their new-found freedom responsibly.

Theo Mönnich-Tegeger, (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 28 October 1988)

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**WELT SONNTAG**

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## AVIATION

### Domestic competition: a little terrier snaps at Lufthansa's heels

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**

By Wilhelm Furtner

No brass bands played and no speeches were made to mark maiden flight No. YP 912 of Riem airport, Munich, on 1 November.

Aero Lloyd preferred not to make a song and dance about its first scheduled flight in Germany.

It is the first time in a long time that Lufthansa's monopoly on major domestic routes has been broken.

Aero Lloyd, the country's fourth-largest charter operator, plans to run an initial 16 flights a day in competition with Lufthansa.

Four aircraft with the Aero Lloyd livery will link Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Düsseldorf, charging fares 11 to 15 per cent below Lufthansa's.

Next summer, if four new aircraft are delivered in time, Aero Lloyd's Walter Schneider may run more domestic services or run regular flights on European routes.

The airline's unpretentious start is not just the result of inexperience in self-presentation. It is, to some extent, deliberate policy.

Herr Schneider knows that the interest and sympathy Aero Lloyd as a David will get by taking on Lufthansa, a Goliath, is not necessarily enough to keep its aircraft full.

It will be extremely difficult to persuade business passengers to switch allegiance.

They account for an estimated 70 to 80 per cent of domestic traffic, and although large companies are not loath to compare costs, the lower-cost Aero Lloyd flights still have two drawbacks.

One is connected with flight times and the slots allocated to Aero Lloyd at overcrowded German airports.

Some evening flights are very late, Munich-Frankfurt at 21.05 hours, for instance, and Herr Schneider would much prefer to fly earlier in the morning.

The other drawback is that passengers lack flexibility. They can't switch

The airline now has a fleet of 11 aircraft, some leased, and they will be joined by four more, costing \$110m, next year.

Aero Lloyd, who are about to build a new head office in Oberursel, near Frankfurt, now have a payroll of about 500.

Herr Schneider has no fears about competing with Lufthansa. His company has ample experience of turbulence of all kinds.

Its predecessor filed for bankruptcy in 1980. Its business manager, Wilhelm Stiller, was killed by a pilot shortly afterwards.

In 1981 a fresh start was made under new ownership with three 13-year-old Caravelles (they are still in service).

It was not the best of fresh starts, running up heavy losses.

In 1983 Bogomir Gradišnik, the Yugoslav owner of Air Charter Market, bought 49 per cent of the capital and joined the board.

Fifty-one per cent is held by Reinhold Bräuer, an accountant, and Jan Klinz, an insurance agent.

Herr Schneider, one of two Aero Lloyd managers, says Mr Gradišnik is the airline's mainspring.

It has earned profits since 1986. Last year seems to have been extremely profitable, even the tourist boom.

In 1987, Herr Schneider says, turnover was DM2.17m; this year he expects it to total DM3.01m.

He says Aero Lloyd's share of the German charter market is 10 per cent.

The airline feels sound enough financially to weather a lean initial period. The operation has been costed to break even when 60 per cent of seats are taken, but costs will probably be covered at a lower percentage.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 October 1988)

## Machinations in the air over Berlin

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

The Western Allies launched their Berlin initiative last December in a bid to boost civil aviation in and from the divided city.

Something has now happened, if not what the Allies may have had in mind.

After the brush-off the Soviet Union gave them in a note handed over early last month, East Berlin has now proposed excluding air safety data with the West Berlin authorities.

This proposal has coincided with somewhat absurd Allied manoeuvres in connection with the winter timetable.

The skies over Berlin are a political minefield. In the final analysis, free access in the western part of the city depends on Allied supervision and control of the air corridors to and from the west.

No matter how many treaty arrangements may underpin the existence of West Berlin, Allied control of the air corridors is the ultimate ratio.

So the proposal by East Berlin, no matter how unpretentious and common-sense it may sound, can only be considered an attempt to gain access to this extremely sensitive sector.

Desirable though cooperation between airports in East and West might be, there can be no question of East Germany being directly associated with air safety control in Berlin.

Given this political minefield, the inevitable dispute is more than annoying. Under the cover of Allied control of the air corridors nothing more nor less than money is at stake.

This is a consideration that cannot be given pride of place, and certainly not in such a coarse manner. Relations with the Allies will otherwise suffer in the long term.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 November 1988)

made toward setting up Eurocontrol; it has been stymied long enough by the egoism of individual European countries.

Defence Minister Rupert Scholz and Transport Minister Jürgen Warneke have also come to terms on greater use of military airspace by civil aviation.

The next move ought to be talks with East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Scandinavia about greater use of their air corridors by north-south traffic.

These and other considerations, such as civil use of military airfields or auctioning "slots," are unlikely to amount to much more than patchwork.

In the first six months of this year Lufthansa pilots alone logged 4,000 hours circling over German airports waiting for permission to land.

They wasted 18 million litres of aviation fuel in the process. Environmentalists are by no means alone in feeling any further deterioration of the situation would be intolerable.

Because of the growth in air traffic reliably predicted, we will have no choice but to grow used to the idea of more, albeit much reduced, aircraft noise on newly-built runways both by day and at night.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 2 November 1988)

## ■ THE ARTS

## Ernst Barlach and religion without the dogma

Sculptor, graphic artist and writer Ernst Barlach died in a Rostock clinic of a heart attack 50 years ago.

The years of condemnation after the Nazis seized power in 1933 had turned him into a bitter and lonely man.

He was angered not so much by the Nazi ban on his work but by the attacks on him from Nazi circles.

Even before then, in the Weimar Republic, political right-wingers had regarded his work with suspicion. They didn't like the pious, absurd style of his singing men and weeping women, the beggars and praying monks of his sculptures with their pleading gestures and their pensive tranquillity. This did not fit in with the vigorous, nationalist German view of life.

During this period Ernst Barlach was regarded by many as the most important German sculptor of the century. He was non-political but he had done much outside the world of his art to make enemies.

In a radio broadcast he protested against the exclusion of writer Heinrich Mann and artist Käthe Kollwitz from the Academy of the Arts during the pe-

mous of the new artists of the time, Auguste Rodin, he was not overwhelmed by it.

In his early days he was influenced by Art Nouveau, but his whole outlook was changed when in 1916 he visited his brother, living in Kharkov, in the Ukraine.

Barlach wrote to his publisher, Reinhold Piper: "I have been in southern Russia for a few months and have had there any number of stimuli, one could even say revolutions."

Barlach was a serious North German by nature, and was humbled by the infinity of the steppes, the perpetual peace of the small villages, the modesty and poverty of the people who were bowed but not humiliated.

He said that he wanted his art in future to be a profession of the nobility of mankind and creation.

Seen in this light, Barlach's art was religious art, but not in the sense of dogmatic theology, but as a symbol of something that fulfilled and gripped the viewer.

It is at this point that our difficulties begin in taking in Barlach's art. The strong forms of his works in wood and bronze share an interior emotion — and feeling, pathos and solemnity are indissoluble in our time, expressions regarded with suspicion.

This view is not changed after visiting the completely undramatic exhibition of 200 of his drawings and sculptures which has opened in Cappenberg Castle, Lünen near Dortmund.

The visitor to this exhibition quickly has the impression that he is in a place

of worship. This feeling can become almost unbearable if Barlach's sculptures are displayed, "staged" with the help of lighting in other museums. In the 50th anniversary of his death we can also evaluate his literary and dramatic work. His play *Der arme Peter*, written in 1918, is to be seen in Bremen and *Die echten Sedemden* (1921) in Hamburg.

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Remembered beat as a sculptor... Barlach's *Der Buchleser*, in bronze, 1936.

(Photo: Archives)

rials in Kiel, Lübeck, Magdeburg and Hamburg were not works honouring heroes. They are rather warnings.

His most famous work in this genre makes this quite clear. The "Güstrow Angel," hovering in the Güstrow Cathedral, has the countenance of another great artist, Käthe Kollwitz, whose life and art was equally devoted to those who were suffering and oppressed. Like Barlach she was persona non grata among the Nazis a few years later.

Hannes Harder  
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 22 October 1988)

He will always be much more important to us as a sculptor, who created not only individual works of plain people and extensive compositions such as the "Frieze of the Listeners," which can be seen in the Barlach House in Hamburg, but also as a sculptor of splendid commissioned statues. His inwardness and his power of expression predestined him for this work.

Even before 1933 he was planning to realise his massive ideas. Barlach's memo-



Proverbs of eternity... Ernst Barlach.  
(Photo: Archives/Piper Verlag)

Poles have been given the chance to learn something about cultural life in the Federal Republic.

Their insight came in a week-long programme of performances in Warsaw and other cities by the Stuttgart Ballet and the Theater an der Ruhr, a retrospective of films by Wim Wenders, exhibitions, concerts and academic lectures.

There were some doubts whether a half-letter based on an adolescent play by Tennessee Williams, (an American) *A Streetcar Named Desire*, was suitable for the opening of a German Culture Week. But that didn't worry the Poles. They liked it all.

A German cultural institute in Poland would certainly interest many people. Discussions and readings of literary works by writers such as Günter Grass and Horst Blenck showed just how frank relations between Germans and Poles have become.

There was a big crowd to hear Grass in a discussion with opposition leaders Adam Michnik and Jan Josef Lipski in the "Lybrydy" student club.

The Poles criticised Grass for being too critical of his own country. They said that freedom was no longer a gift but had to be defended.

Lipski expressed the view that Poles wanted to return to "the bosom of Europe" and that they had a right to freedom, "like the Germans and the French."

Adam Michnik asked Grass whether he thought it right for leading Social-Democrats to have talks with ministers and generals, indifferent to whether they looked up or granted us amnesties?"

Grass replied that it was easier for writers to once saw a sculpture of the most fa-

## Poles queue up for taste of German culture

ters to have contacts with members of the opposition than for politicians.

He said that there were two aspects to his involvement. He was critical of communism as practised in Russia and the other countries of the East Bloc, but he was not critical of the United States.

Grass and Blenck were asked time and time again about their attitudes towards their "lost native country," Danzig (now Gdańsk) for Grass and Upper Silesia for Blenck.

Here it was noteworthy how one can now talk about themes of this sort in Poland which were once taboo and aroused considerable emotion.

Grass attracted applause and laughter when he recalled that at the beginning of the 1960s in Gdańsk he had overheard a German and a Pole arguing bitterly about whether Copernicus was a German or a Pole.

Grass said: "I found the discussion idiotic and boring. Then I made up a story. I said that according to one genealogical source Copernicus was neither German nor Pole but Kashubian. Immediately I had the German and the Pole against me."

One Pole said it was time the German cultural inheritance in the once-German but now-Polish territories should be recognised.

Grass replied that it was easier for writers

Grass was applauded when he said these territories were Polish because Germany had started the war and lost it. But he said that an end should be made to arguments about Slavic or Germanic origins.

In a discussion with Blenck in Warsaw an elderly man complained that only now could Poles in any numbers visit the birthplace of their national poet Adam Mickiewicz in Lithuania, now a Soviet Republic.

He said that there was a Mickiewicz Museum but all the inscriptions on the exhibits were in Russian.

Grass visits Poland every three years, "when I am let in," and still has relatives near Gdańsk. But Gleiwitz (now Gliwice), near Katowice, is only a place remembered from childhood for Blenck.

He read an extract from his book, recently published, about his first journey to Gleiwitz, which had depressed him.

Asked if in his discussions with home-sick Poles who had returned to visit Silesia whether he had met anyone who wanted to remain for good he said, "Not a single one."

Blenck defended those who wanted to leave Poland today. He said he did not like hearing talk of "real Poles," who, wanting a better life in the West, looked for a German grandfather.

He said that it was the right of every individual to go where he or she wanted to go. He pointed out that not so long ago people had been murdered because they were "real Jews."

Some East Germans took part in the discussions, taking full advantage of the free atmosphere on the Polish side of the River Oder.

Renate Marschke  
(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 24 October 1988)

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## ■ EXHIBITIONS

## 1,000 years of Jews in Bavaria: a tale of humiliation and persecution

The fate of Jews down the ages is the graphically displayed in an exhibition in Nuremberg; it shows how the Jewish minority in almost all eras was mocked and humiliated, persecuted and murdered, again and again.

One photograph shows people on the back of a pig, an unclean animal for Jews.

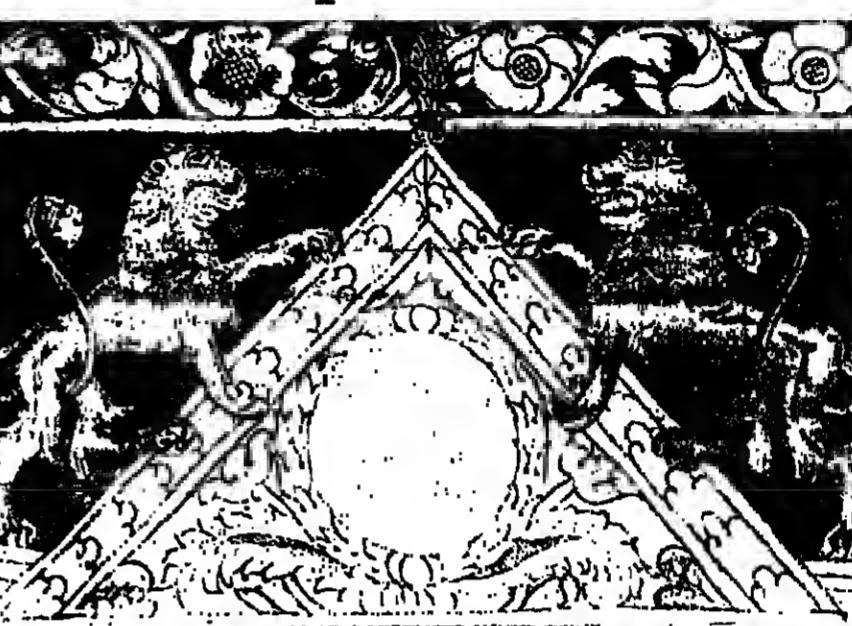
It does not come, as perhaps you might expect, from the Nazi newspaper, *Der Stürmer*, but is of a stone lion in the first half of the 15th century in the former monastery in Heilbronn.

The depiction of the "Jewish pig" appeared in churches in many countries in the Middle Ages, in Germany in the cathedrals of Cologne, Magdeburg and Regensburg.

Most of the 850 exhibits in Nuremberg, loaned from 160 institutions from all over the world, are witness to Jewish belief, but no-one can ignore the documents which show distress and threat.

The exhibition is at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum and is called: "Look, the stone is screaming out of the wall" and is subtitled: "Jewish History and Culture of economic activity, in the decades before 1500. More expulsions of Jews from the duchy of Bavaria followed in 1533.

The Nationalmuseum and the House of Bavarian History have given particular importance to the Jewish religion and customs because the ignorance of people



Section of wooden ceiling paneling from a synagogue painted between 1738-39 by Elias Saemann. The panel, 3.65 meters by 3.86 meters, is on loan from the Hällisch-Fränkisches Museum, Schwäbisch Hall. (Photo: Catalogue)

of economic activity, in the decades before 1500. More expulsions of Jews from the duchy of Bavaria followed in 1533.

They made their way from Bavaria to the rural areas of Franconia and Swabia where they were welcomed by the knights of the Holy Roman Empire.

Considerable space is given over in the exhibition to the life of rural Jews. In many areas of Franconia and Swabia, Jews made up as much as 40 per cent of the total rural population, in some instances they were in the majority.

The section shown in this exhibition about rural Jews is a link with the present: not a single Jew lives in these rural areas today.

Nuremberg provides an example from the past of how religious motives concealed the economic background for the hatred of Jews.

Emperor Karl IV gave the city's patri-

ates a licence to murder Jews in presenting them with a market charter in 1349.

The citizens immediately were down in the ghetto on the central marketplace and killed the Jewish inhabitants.

The Church of Our Lady on the Hauptmarkt in Nuremberg is today a witness of the emperor's bad conscience. At midday the jacks of the clock appear as

the hour.

It is not surprising that in 1811 the Jewish community in Fürth numbered 2,623, the largest Jewish community in the country.

Fürth lost its special position when, in the heyday of industrialisation, the Jews in Germany were granted equal rights under the law as other citizens.

Theoretically from 1871-1871 they were treated as other citizens, but in practice it was rather different. Jews had difficulties getting posts in universities and in making a career in the civil service.

Even during the Weimar Republic Jews were harassed by the ban on the Jewish ritual slaughter of animals. The Third Reich dealt Jewish citizens the ultimate blow.

There are now only 5,500 Jews living in Bavaria.

Walter Schatz

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 October 1988)

Frederick the Great bought the Royal Porcelain Factory in Berlin, (it is in present-day West Berlin) famous for its German initials of KPM, from a merchant, Ernst Gotzkowski, in 1763 for 225,000 thalers.

Kings liked the best porcelain: the finest relief work was entwined around the cups and plates; turrines and bowls were decorated with gilt mosaics or crimson flowers.

Frederick himself had a morbid taste when it came to colour. He favoured a service in "bleu mourant," languishing blue. The 225th anniversary of the Prussian King's purchase of the factory is being celebrated in the Charlottenburg Castle, the former Berlin summer residence of the Prussian kings, with a special offer to buy items of porcelain inscribed with personal initials; and the head of the works is to go to West Berlin to take part in celebrations by KPM, the royal porcelain works.

rian porcelain factory came to be established. He recalled the decisive meeting with Frederick the Great: "His Majesty had brought to his room a few samples of Saxon porcelain. He explained that he wanted similar porcelain, but from a factory in his own land."

"Gottzkowski founded a works in Berlin and lured the best tradesmen from the stronghold of porcelain manufacture, Meissen near Dresden.

Today pieces of the famous "Bleu mourant" KPM service are produced by hand in Berlin, using the old moulds.

The factory has a well-filled order-book and much value is put on good relations with its former competitor in Meissen.

The director of the Meissen factory, Reinhard Fleisch, is taking part in the KPM anniversary celebrations.

Ralph Stiewe, KPM spokesman in Berlin, said: "We do not feel ourselves to be competitors with Meissen. Each factory has its specialities. We produce services. Figurines are better in Meissen."

Angelika Kleebauer  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 October 1988)



Only the best was good enough... exhibit from Berlin porcelain exhibition.  
(Photo: H. Garbs)

Fear, hopelessness, despair — few complaints give rise to as many unpleasant emotions as cancer.

Health insurance schemes, medical associations and a cancer research organisation have appealed for more people to turn up for cancer checks.

The health insurance schemes spend well over DM500m a year on cancer checks. The sooner a malignant tumour is identified, the likelier it can be cured, the argument runs.

It seems to be true of many kinds of cancer, but not all. In some cases it evidently makes no difference.

Despite a seemingly limitless range of new cancer drugs and despite increasingly sophisticated diagnostic and radiation equipment many kinds of cancer are not spotted until it is too late.

The number of cancer deaths is steadily increasing, so precautionary measures are clearly needed — if only because the all-clear relieves pent-up anxiety that may also cause cancer.

Yet what happens to a woman who is found to have a malignant breast tumour? She is sent to the nearest hospital for treatment that amounts to little more than a lottery.

Few if any hospital doctors are prepared to explain to patients that there are methods of treating cancer (other than the one they prefer) that can be taken seriously. So the patient has no choice. Depending on the doctor's

## Hannoversche Allgemeine

school of thought and assessment of the situation, surgery may be any of three options.

It may be "off with her breast" or part of it or merely the tumour, leaving the remaining tissue in place.

In retrospect any doctor can justify any of these approaches, but it would be preferable for the patient to consult several doctors before agreeing to surgery.

There is always the medical examiner, a doctor appointed by insurance companies but equally at the patient's disposal when a second opinion is felt to be needed.

Besides, patients have a right to know why one course of treatment is approved (and underwritten) by the health insurance and others aren't.

As matters stand, a patient who has undergone surgery, radiation and chemotherapy may then be told by an advocate of biological cancer treatment that everything done in hospital cancer wards is a waste of time.

Thirty to 50 per cent of cancer pa-

## ■ MEDICINE

### Doctors' stubborn attitudes to treatment of cancer

Patients are said to die of the repercussions of chemotherapy rather than of cancer.

The advocate of alternative medicine will say, in a manner less dubiously definite than that of practitioners of established medicine, that treating tumours alone is not enough.

Just as conventional medics defend the use of scalpels and radiation therapy, the alternative medic says cancer is not a complaint that can be localised.

In his view it is a general complaint that can only be treated by other means, such as a radical transformation of the patient's way of life.

Anyone who keeps track of the publications that document the disputes over the causes and treatment of cancer can but hope never to suffer from it personally.

Cancer may be lethal; it has definitely come to be a hotly contested, indispensable economic factor.

### Lung tumours no smokers' privilege

Radon finds its way into living rooms in various ways.

It is released from subterranean geological strata and finds its way into the topsoil (or stone). It then usually finds its way into the atmosphere and is rapidly diluted, doing no further damage.

But it often comes to a halt beneath earthen foundations, is collected and leaks through a crack into the cellar.

It is three times as heavy as ordinary air but swiftly permeates the cellar and is wasted round the home.

The GSF's Dr Josef Peter took a dim view of the insulation advice given to do-it-yourself home improvers:

"They are advised to put in double glazing and to insulate old buildings, yet never a mention is made of the radon risk."

Radon exposure indoors, they say, ought not to exceed 250 becquerels per cubic metre. Higher levels are said by specialists in environmental medicine to double the average lung cancer risk. Action is then called for.

Thirty to 50 per cent of cancer pa-

romising courses of treatment. Disputes of this kind are irresponsible. They slip in the bud hopes that might be justified and paralyse the self-preservation instinct so essential for sheer survival.

Comments made by patients themselves often shed a disgraceful light upon members of the medical profession.

Doctors are keenly interested in tumours and treat them with care and attention; the poor patients are left very much to their own devices, in the lurch with their mental anguish, in the day-to-day routine of hospital.

Since no doctor can seriously dispute that the patient's state of mind has a decisive influence on how he or she comes to terms with the complaint, the "look, no words" course of cancer treatment is a sign of either inadequate medical qualification or an irresponsible desire to get rich quick.

Prevention is undeniably better than cure. But if it is to be the patient any good, treatment and after-care must become more humane.

And doctors must admit to their patients that while there are many ways of treating cancer no-one can say for sure which approach is right in the given instance.

Eyke Gerster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 November 1988)

This figure was arrived at by the Karlsruhe nuclear research centre after tests in a random sample of 6,000 homes in the Federal Republic of Germany.

One per cent were found to tick away at over 250 Bq and 0.1 per cent to register over 500 Bq per cubic metre. In individual instances radiation levels of up to 3,000 Bq were measured.

Karl Jenriches, health resort director at Bad Kreuznach, has a soft spot for radon. "In our radon workings," he says, "nearly 30,000 patients a year recover from rheumatism, arthritis and respiratory complaints."

On average, patients spend seven half-hour sessions exposed to up to 100,000 Bq per cubic metre.

Herr Jenriches says patients show definite signs of improvement. He attributes them to the stimulative effect of radon.

It is proud of his university's latest addition. Had it not been for his commitment it might well not have been allocated to Brunswick.

In reality, perfectly ordinary people do everyday work here. They are not particularly reverential about what, for some, is the stuff of nightmares.

What they pour into funnels, beakers, test-tubes and steel containers is simply chemical molecules that can be broken apart, cut up and dissolved — just like other substances.

Even the incubators where bacteria, especially the genetic engineer's favourite, *E. coli*, multiply a millionfold overnight.

These are the incubators where bacteria, especially the genetic engineer's favourite, *E. coli*, multiply a millionfold overnight.

It is hard, in such an unspectacular environment, to envisage unscrupulous scientists one day having no qualms about manipulating human genes.

Instead, the young and strikingly level-headed Brunswick biochemists are enthusiastic about the possibility of developing a "green chemistry" to reconcile ecology and economy.

They envisage methods enabling mankind to put bacteria and fungi to work as hard-working microscope factories, supplying sophisticated medicines and serums on demand.

They have visions of developing varieties of plant that protect themselves from pests and diseases, boost their own yields and even supply their own fertiliser.

They talk in terms of microbial soil purification and of the mighty microbe

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## ■ NEW BIOCENTRE OPENED

### Harnessing *Schizosaccharomyces pombe* and debating about moral limits

The new biocentre at Brunswick University of Technology is one of the most ultra-modern research facilities in the country in a key technology.

Gernot Müller-Serien went along to see for himself. He reports for the *Hannoversche Allgemeine*.

Comments made by patients themselves often shed a disgraceful light upon members of the medical profession.

Doctors are keenly interested in tumours and treat them with care and attention; the poor patients are left very much to their own devices, in the lurch with their mental anguish, in the day-to-day routine of hospital.

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Genetic engineering, the most controversial sector of biotechnology, plays a strictly limited role in Brunswick as yet.

Cages for laboratory animals have been installed at the biocentre but they will stay empty for some time, Professor Rebe says.

The only rats are, in all probability, the ones in the cellar of a dilapidated old shed in the campus grounds.

It can't be demolished because an artist who lives and works there has taken his case to court and been found to be entitled to stay there for good.

He refuses to go despite the most generous offers of compensation, including an apartment in a block of new flats.

Brunswick research scientists are particularly keen to make use of the specific opportunities provided by combining biotech, process engineering and engineering in general.

"We are less interested in setting up genes," Professor Rebe says, "than in putting biotech to industrial use."

Human genetics is taboo, he and all Brunswick scientists are agreed. But aren't moral standards realigned in keeping with the tasks set?

Scientists who work with bacteria definitely feel their work is less alarming than that of scientists who do harmless work on laboratory mice.

Those who work with mice may feel working with rabbits is the borderline.

Those who work with rabbits probably feel working with monkeys is dubious.

Those who work with monkeys doubtless feel experimenting on humans is the borderline.

Visitors to Brunswick are briefed at length on laboratory equipment and the importance of *E. coli* bacteria in genetic engineering.

They are made to part company with any naive idea they may have had that cutting up genes is done with scissors or scalpels. They are taught instead that "dissection" is carried out chemically.

Yet, inevitably, every conversation about biotech ends up by discussing ethical considerations.

In common with everyone who has dealt with the subject in detail, Professor Rebe feels that the debate, which ranges from innocuous clichés to horrific visions, has not been conducted objectively.

He is well aware of the fears some people have of irresponsible research scientists working away behind the red-brick walls of the biocentre, evilly perverting nature.

But he is no less mistrustful of others who euphorically hold forth the promise of new technologies that will be a blessing to mankind.

Professor Rebe would be happy to spike the curriculum with lectures on ethics and philosophy. "In this sector," he says, "we are moving into spheres of scientific development where the conceivable consequences and potential hazards can only be responsibly considered by means of intensive reflection."

At present, however, he lacks staff qualified to lecture in these subjects. The limits to biotechnology in Brunswick are, as he sees it,

"We will not be undertaking experiments in human genetics here, and we will definitely not be trying to interfere in the work of creation."

Gernot Müller-Serien  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 October 1988)



